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PROPOSALS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT
OF HUMAN RELATIONS
IN THE

LOS ANGELES METROPOLITAN AREA

Minority groups
Negroes
Civil rights

L. A. area

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Submitted by

The Los Angeles County
Commission on Human Relations
November 2, 1965

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FOREWORD

The recent disturbances that shook the Los Angeles area represent one of the most dramatic evidences of the twin problems facing all metropolitan areas today. Those problems are the fast-growing non-white population which tends, for a variety of reasons, to be concentrated in the core of the Central City; and the growing complexity of urban life itself. These twin problems cannot be solved in isolation of each other. They influence and interact with each other. The one can only be solved by successfully attacking the other.

The problem is one of gigantic proportions, for the entire structure of our society is intimately involved in and responsible for its development. Only through a thorough understanding of the economic, social and political factors that contribute to the peculiar nature of the urban complex can we determine the proper cure for the many problems it presents to us.

Almost seventy per cent of the American people now live in a world far different from any ever inhabited by man throughout the ages. Never before have more than 130 millions of people (our current urban population) lived in such close proximity to each other. Social scientists and physical planners have, for more than twenty years, been writing on the phenomenon that is the city. New words such as "megalopolis" have had to be coined to differentiate our present urban areas from those of the past. Hans Blumenthal, writing on "The Modern Metropolis" in Scientific American, states that the city "has undergone a qualitative change, so that it is no longer merely a larger version of the traditional city, but a new and

different form of human settlement."

All great cities throughout the world face severe problems due to their phenomenal growth and qualitative changes. But in our nation the problem is compounded by the fact of a large minority group population which historically has been isolated from the mainstream of American social, economic and political life. In Los Angeles, this "compounded" problem is further complicated by the existence of not one but two large, surging, frustrated minority groups: the Mexican-American and the Negro; groups that are not only in conflict and in competition with the dominant group in our society, but are sometimes in conflict and competition with each other in their attempt to improve their respective economic, social and educational position.

Fifty or seventy-five years ago we were much more capable of dealing with our problems than we are today. Communities were much more self-sufficient, our political structure and our economic system were more or less geared to our needs. The political boundaries of cities and counties were much more meaningful, and the problems communities faced could often be solved through the political and economic machinery that has developed over a long period of time.

Such is not now the case. Problems of transportation, communication, law enforcement, physical planning, smog, water, education, employment, and human relations no longer lend themselves to solution solely within the political boundaries of a single city or community within the urban complex. Either a much higher quality of cooperation must be developed between our

political jurisdictions or we shall be forced to develop a more workable political structure.

We know these things but we do not yet fully know all the factors with which we have to deal in the solution of the problems faced by the megalopolis; nor do we fully understand the interaction of these factors as a total process.

Most agencies operating in the field of intergroup relations have sought to solve problems of intergroup relations by working directly on the symptoms of the problems. We have sought to deal with the problems of residential segregation by promoting the enactment of legislation and by demonstrations, and by the utilization of other forms of direct action. To a limited degree, these actions have brought some measure of relief; but in each of our great cities -- even those with good civil rights legislation and active organizations -- the problem of residential segregation continues to grow, rather than to diminish. In short, the harder we work the more difficult the solution of the problem becomes.

This type of frustration is not confined to the intergroup relations professional. Others who attempt to deal with different aspects of this social problem face a similar dilemma. With thousands of social case workers now in the field, the problems of social welfare are more difficult to solve. With the great growth in personnel laboring in the field of the prevention of crime and delinquency, we are told that these problems are increasing in a geometrical rather than in an arithmetical ratio to population increase. With the vast expansion of our industrial productivity

and the constant increase in our gross national product and personal income, we seem unable to provide jobs for millions of employable men and women. And so it goes in almost every area of social concern.

It would seem that, with all of our progress as a nation, there are those who are exposed to the fact of progress but who are never participants in it. In short, millions of our citizens are effectively isolated from participation in the affluent American economy. Their frustration grows not so much out of the isolation itself as it does from the knowledge that a better life for them is possible and that the high expectations they have been told lie "just around the corner" are as yet unachieved.

We are now in a situation in which those who have, throughout their past history, had only the crumbs of life are not only aware of the existence of "a full table," but are demanding their share of it.

As an agency in the field of intergroup relations, we have been called upon to suggest a program designed to deal effectively with those conditions out of which the August riots developed. It is not a sign of incompetence but a mark of intelligence, we believe, to admit that we do not fully know how to deal with those basic problems. We do know what many of the problems are. We are aware of the history, the tradition and the current situation that gave rise to the conflagration. We are convinced that these problems, in our present era, are intimately involved with the problems of the metropolitan area itself. We are even wise enough to know that we must deal with issues and conditions of the metropolitan area itself if we are to be successful in preventing another holocaust. We are also humble

enough to know that neither we nor any other group of individuals have the intelligence or the internal capacity of knowing how to analyze all the social, economic and political factors effectively enough to get a well-defined picture of the ills of our social system.

But this we do know -- and know it well. No lasting solution to the problems of minority group persons in our nation is possible until we do understand more intimately our social system, our motivations and behavior as human beings living in a society with other human beings, and the necessity to create a mechanism through which we can begin to work effectively with all who are involved in planning for and dealing with the physical and social development of our society. Our problem, then, like all others dealing with man and his social structure, is to find a way not only to know all of the elements of the problem, but to discover a means of fitting the problems together in such a way that they can be dealt with effectively.

The import of this brief statement is that there is no easy, short term, permanent cure for the conditions out of which the August riots developed. This is not to imply that there are not some measures that can be taken as a "holding action" until a more effective and more permanent cure can be devised.

The programs suggested in the proposals to follow are of two kinds. First, a series of suggestions that have promise of proving of value in working on the totality of the problems which affect the urban community; and secondly, some action programs that, hopefully, will provide a "breathing spell" from the development of tensions while we wrestle with the more subtle and difficult problems.

Changing the Social Values of Minority Group Youth

America today is the wealthiest, healthiest, best fed, best educated, and culturally the richest society man has yet devised. We have solved all major problems of abundance, and the majority of Americans live at a level of luxury that might well be envied by the kings and emperors of old. Culturally, we have at our disposal the writings and masterworks of all the thinkers and creative artists who have ever lived.

Moreover, in addition to this material and intellectual wealth, we have a way of life that -- at least theoretically -- provides every citizen with security of person and property, the right to individual expression and development, and a voice in the management of the affairs of his nation. The framework of our material, political, and social preeminence was erected by a group of the most astute political philosophers of all time, the Founding Fathers. It is to them, and to the vigor and independence and concern of those who followed them, that we today owe our enviable position.

And yet, in the midst of our great achievements, we have among us a large body of our citizens who are cut off from this richness, who suffer material deprivation and cultural famine. For them, the affluence of our society is a mockery, and because we deny them access to the good things of the American way of life, they cannot find it in their hearts to acknowledge that these things most of us prize are indeed good. And, from their viewpoint, they have some reason to feel so.

Some years ago Robert Ruark, the noted author, published a widely read book titled Something of Value. It was the story of the attempt by

Europeans in an African colony to change the cultural habits and behavior of their subjects, and of the conflicts that ensued as a result of that effort. The title also contained the moral lesson it sought to convey -- that when a man or a group is deprived of those contacts, values and associations that provide for him a sense of identity and of "belonging," then if he is to become a productive, positive thinking and acting personality in society, "something of value" must be substituted for the values that have provided for him, in his former environment and culture, those elements that contributed to his sense of "belonging" -- even though those values may have been destructive to himself and to society in general. One does not "exhort" others to "be good;" to act in a socially acceptable fashion when all of his experiences, motivation and environment dictate that to "be good" is to be excluded from everything that is meaningful in the life of a human being -- being accepted by his peers. Exhortation and supplication is not a "value" that can be translated into human needs unless that exhortation is accompanied by a set of new experiences, and by the introduction of new avenues and opportunities for excitement, new interests and involvement with other human beings whose value systems are different but become attainable to the person whose values need changing.

Police officials, jurists, public officials and social agencies have all commented loudly and consistently about the growing menace of delinquency and crime in our great cities. In most cases, this crime and delinquency is found in disproportionate percentages in minority group communities. We have attempted to deal with this problem in highly traditional ways. We have sought to prevent juvenile delinquency (out of which much adult crime springs) by working on the surface problems of delinquency.

If, indeed, this problem is growing -- and there is little doubt that it is -- and if its manifestation are to be found in greater measure among minority group communities than elsewhere, it would seem only logical to assume that there are social and psychological conditions existing in these communities that do not exist, in the same degree, in non-minority group communities. In short, the social values in these communities are different than those in other communities. If they are different, we must then assume that they are different for a variety of environmental, social, and economic situations that are peculiar to the affected groups. We must also assume that, while these social values are repugnant to generally accepted standards, they nevertheless provide a "workable" solution to the problems faced by an individual living in such an environment.

While this problem is of concern in all areas of our nation, it is most acute in our cities and in our great metropolitan centers.

Charles Silberman, writing in the March, 1960 issue of Fortune Magazine in an article titled, "The City and the Negro" said: "It is the explosive growth of their (Negro) populations, in fact, that constitutes the cities' principal problem and concern. When city officials talk about spreading slums, they are talking in the main about the physical determination of the areas inhabited by Negroes. And when they talk about juvenile delinquency or the burden of Welfare payments, or any of a long list of city problems, officials are talking principally about the problems of Negro adjustment to city life. For the large city is not absorbing and "urbanizing" its new Negro residents rapidly enough; its slums are no longer acting as the incubator of a new middle class." (As the slums did for the older emigrant to America -- the Europeans.)

In Los Angeles County, Mr. Silberman's thesis is equally applicable to the Mexican-American.

In essence, Mr. Silberman is saying that delinquency is a function, to a considerable degree -- of social class; that as people reach middle class status their values tend to undergo a change, and that this change affects behavior in a positive fashion. People tend to leave a depressive, slum-like physical environment as their social values change; and while a decent physical environment is highly desirable, it will not, in and of itself, stimulate significant changes in social values. This is particularly true if that "decent" physical environment -- such as a public housing project -- is surrounded by a dilapidated slum area.

The point of this line of reasoning is that delinquency and crime among Negroes and Mexican-Americans is primarily a function of the social class to which they belong; and that their lower social class is determined by the restrictive sanctions that are directed against them by a social system that denies them easy and free access to those experiences, contacts, communication and involvement that are necessary to the creation of new social values, and hence the ability to move up into the great American middle class.

If there is any logic in this conclusion we must then recognize such anti-social behavior, in large measure, as a human relations problem arising out of racial and ethnic identification which has, in our quasi-caste system, prevented a majority of the "visible" minority peoples from becoming a part of the community's middle class structure.

Therefore, it would seem almost useless to attempt to deal with such anti-social behavior except by providing a "gate" through which a new set of social values become available to those who now find a measure of psychological security in the value system of which they are a part.

In the recent riot or revolt in the South Los Angeles area, much fuel was added to the original disturbance, thus enlarging it to proportions rarely seen in this nation. This "fuel" was supplied by young people whose behavior has long been identified as essentially anti-social or delinquent. Their involvement in the disturbances could have been predicted; in fact, was predicted by the staff of the Human Relations Commission before the revolt was rekindled on Thursday, August 12. These young people were not necessarily members of an organized "gang" group, but they were "gang" oriented. They were socially maladjusted individuals; and they were, with few exceptions, from the lower socio-economic segment of the Negro community.

The Human Relations Commission has a responsibility to safeguard, as best it can, the peace and harmony of this community when that peace and harmony is threatened by situations growing out of poor intergroup relations. "Poor" human relations, we contend, has in our great cities produced a disproportionate amount of socially maladjusted individuals in the Negro, and in the Mexican-American, community.

Rocognizing this fact and acting on this premise, the Commission petitioned the Board of Supervisors to assign the Group Guidance staff of the Probation Department (the Delinquency Prevention area of the Probation Department) to its -- the Commission's -- staff. The Commission intends

to utilize this excellent and knowledgeable staff for the purpose of changing the social values of those young people who are at present in an "anti-social orbit." Through the contacts and rapport that Group Guidance has established with these young people, we intend to get them involved in what is virtually a "new world"--a world so new, so exciting--so filled with new ideas, new concepts, new ways of living, of dreaming, and of behaving that they can find security in a new set of social values that are in conformity with society's standards of behavior.

As a result of new legislative action and judicial decisions at the local, state and national level--beginning in 1935 and culminating in the National Civil Rights Act of 1964--the doors of opportunity for minority group people are opening. But it is not enough to open a door to one that has found a brick wall for generations of time. He must be enticed to walk through that door. He will walk through--into a new, unknown and threatening world only if he can clearly see that it truly has more advantages for him than does his old world. He will accept opportunity only if he is introduced to the benefits that such acceptance will provide for him. He will walk through only if he is assured that he will be accepted by those who have already crossed the threshold before him. A child will walk across a log that spans a river only if his mother takes his hand and walks ahead of him. And so it is with those whom we would wish to change into useful, productive citizens.

In short, when we deprive this anti-social individual of those values that have made life possible in a hostile environment enclosed within a hostile world we must, as was illustrated in the book referred to, provide for him "something of value" in the new world to which we would introduce him.

The addition of the Group Guidance personnel to the Commission's staff brings together, for the first time, the two elements in this community necessary to the accomplishment of this task. But in this new relationship between Group Guidance and the Human Relations Commission both sections take on a new perspective, a new interrelated goal, a new methodology, and a new concept of their combined mission. The staff now assigned to the Group Guidance Section of the Commission's staff will continue its historic responsibility of working with the core gang group. But it will now have a new function and a new responsibility. Whereas in the past the objective of Group Guidance has been primarily to work with the gang group in a "club" setting as one means of providing stimulation toward socially acceptable behavior, the chief objective will now be to cut off the "life's blood" that has kept these groups alive--some of them for as long as twenty-five to thirty years. That life's blood is represented by those "fringe" group individuals who constantly refurbish the "core" group as members of the core are killed, move away from the area, go to prison or are, in some cases, rehabilitated.

We hope to accomplish this objective by the organization of a group of 2,000 adults, mainly Negroes and Mexican-Americans, into a group to be called "Friends Unlimited."

Friends Unlimited is designed to establish "helping adult" relationships with "fatherless" (situationally defined) minority group youths, whereupon positive male models will be provided for boys, with emphasis on the latter for older boys. Women volunteers may be utilized with younger boys and with girls. These adult advisors will expose youngsters to social, cultural, general "educational" and recreational areas that normally are

unavailable to them for various reasons. It is expected that the volunteer should be able to maintain this relationship on at least a once-a-week basis.

Program

The program is designed to reach throughout the socio-economically deprived pockets in the County of Los Angeles. While the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations will function in the beginning stages of this proposed program as a primary instigator, it is considered desirous that said instigating agency phase out its functions as soon as is practical. In effect as soon as several pilot projects have been made operational, the necessary model for other communities throughout the County would have been set.

The primary purpose of the program will be the establishment of cross-cultural, cross-racial relationships between the volunteer Adult Advisor Corps and youths from socially and economically deprived communities. The youngsters to be served come from homes and environments that often prevent their being exposed to such cultural/educational pursuits such as attendance of enriching exposures to Music Center offerings, trips to the Art Museum, Associations with persons from communities other than their own -- i.e. Thanksgiving meals with the aforementioned; in fact, exposures to completely different styles of life other than their own. Further, receiving helpful guidance and direction in the area of educational developments and pursuits. The meaningful exposure/involvements resulting from such a program are numerous. Aside from the previously mentioned, a truly meaningful relationship might well be established between an adult male and a young boy by their frequent attendance at football games and baseball games; the attendance of such activities being only the surface relationship, the more

meaningful one being the relationship between a youth with an adult who cares about him.

Friends Unlimited would maintain the desired relationship (face to face) on at least a once-a-week basis. Certainly during the week telephonic contact would be encouraged. During times of crisis there may well be need for more frequent and intense contact, as determined by the adult advisor, the professional staff member involved, and the specific needs as indicated by the youth and/or his parent. It seems evident that the need clearly exists for a program such as the Adult Advisor Corps on a large scale basis in the County of Los Angeles. When one considers that many youngsters reside in homes with nine or ten other siblings, an inadequate father figure, or no father figure, it is not difficult to believe that the task of being both mother and father on the part of the female parent is indeed a seemingly insurmountable, unachievable task. With the youngsters' needs being unmet in this kind of situation, and being surrounded by an environment conducive to anti-social behavior, it is little wonder that many such youths seek substitute gratification of needs along with other peers traumatized by the inadequacy of their deprived community situation. In many cases, with no other male models to observe other than their older brothers involved in gang activity, various delinquent and criminal pursuits, the youngster seeking manhood follows the male model pattern that is most immediately available. It is this "cycle of delinquency" that this proposed program would seek to assist in breaking.

Screening-Matching Board

To initiate this program, a Board would be set up to screen prospective

sponsors, and match them with youth, on a basis of similarity of backgrounds and interest. This Board might well consist of representatives from the Bureau of Public Assistance, the Los Angeles County Probation Department, the Los Angeles Police Department and/or the Sheriff's Department, and representatives from interested and qualified community agencies.

A staff of professionals and aides would follow up on each sponsor-youth team on at least a once-a-month basis, to check on the progress of the relationship, offer advice and guidance and, if necessary, terminate the relationship.

Professional Staff and Staff Aides

The function of the professional staff would be screening and matching the sponsors and the youths; ongoing supervision and guidance between the family, the sponsor, and the youth; and ongoing evaluation of the progress and success of each relationship. At the beginning of the pilot program, the staff of the Commission, particularly those in the Group Guidance Section, will be involved in identifying youths in need of sponsor relationships. As the pilot programs get under way, this involvement would lessen, except for Group Guidance - for it would be necessary to continue to feed new youth into the program.

Staff aides, recruited from the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and well screened, may well be used in various aspects of this program. A program of this type will need careful supervision by professional caseworkers, carrying a full caseload, and because of this, it may well be that once the program is

well under way, the staff of the Commission, with their many other responsibilities, should be withdrawn. Preliminary discussions with the Director of the Bureau of Public Assistance, concerning the possibility of committing twenty Social Case Workers to this project, would indicate that this is a distinct possibility, particularly if it is possible to secure Federal funding, which is available up to 75 percent of the salary costs.

We hope to involve between 1500 and 2000 Negro and Mexican-American youngsters in this program. Already between 300 and 400 Negro families have volunteered to become sponsors, and discussions are being held in the Mexican-American community.

As a supplement to the teen-age program, another program for younger children is suggested, enlisting the aid of a "Grandmothers' Corps", which would provide a stimulating and socially useful outlet for the energies of many of our senior citizens, and which would begin the process of channeling the interests of children between the ages of 4 and 9, particularly from the families of the core gang members into socially acceptable patterns at an early age.

We are also proposing a considerable expansion of the Anytown, USA program, in which the Commission is already deeply involved, to provide an opportunity for peer-group relationships which cut across the spectrum of race, class, and social distinctions. During the weeks immediately following the August riot, this program provided an opportunity for approximately 150 Negro and Mexican-American youngsters from deprived homes in South and East Los Angeles to spend five days with youngsters of different socio-economic, racial, and religious backgrounds, in a "learning-and-

sharing" experience that had a tremendous impact on them.

We feel this program should be on a year-round basis, and should be closely related to the "Friends Unlimited" program. Funds should be secured to purchase land for a permanent Anytown camp site, and donations of building materials sought to provide a work project for these young people to build with their own hands the physical facilities. A nationally known foundation has suggested that it would be interested in providing funds for some kind of a project designed to prevent another racial conflagration, and they might well be interested in the Anytown program. To accomplish these aims, Anytown should have a year-round staff, and the Board of Directors should be urged to seek funds for such a broadening of the program.

With the addition of the Group Guidance personnel to the Commission staff, we feel that these programs can be gotten under way in a comparatively short time, and that there should be a perceptible change in the patterns of juvenile delinquency in the Los Angeles area.

It is obvious, however, that this program by itself is not the whole answer to the problems faced by this community as it seeks to deal effectively with the problems of the minority groups in its midst. If we are successful in raising the expectations of these young people, of providing motivation and incentive in a positive direction, and of getting them to accept middle class values that are good, we must provide greater opportunity for them to participate in our society as middle class people. We must make race an irrelevant factor in that opportunity for participation. Otherwise we will have added to, rather than subtracted from,

their present state of frustration.

Just as Anytown U.S.A. seeks to bridge the interracial as well as the socio-economic gap in the community, so does the Friends Unlimited Program. Many organizations composed primarily of Anglos, including the many human relations committees with which the Commission now works have indicated a willingness to be utilized in working with the youth to be involved in this Program.

Recommendations:

1. That the Board of Supervisors make the Group Guidance section of the Probation Department, now on loan to the Commission, a permanent part of the Commission's staff so that the long-term "Friends Unlimited" Program might be effectively implemented.
2. That up to 20 social case workers be placed on "detached" service from the Bureau of Public Assistance for a period of one year to assist in this program.
3. That the Board of Supervisors join with the Commission in requesting foundation funds for permanent staff and the purchase of a camp site for the Anytown U.S.A. program.
4. That the Board of Supervisors supplement the Commission's present budget of \$2,000 for Consultant fees by an additional \$4,000 in order that we might secure Consultant services for this program from the executives of "Big Brother of Greater Los Angeles," Catholic Big Brothers and Jewish Big Brothers. Their knowledge and experience in these programs would be invaluable to the Commission's staff and to the Friends Unlimited organization during the first year of operation.

Education As A Tool For Positive Social Change

As the metropolitan areas of the United States grow ever larger and more complex, the problems of these metropolitan areas grow not only in quantity and complexity but also actually change in quality. New problems arise, and size and complexity create their own problems, never before imagined. Under these conditions, the public school system -- as the basic agency charged by family and communities generally with integrating the young into the total society -- faces problems, demands and situations it never before has encountered.

We assume that the school system has at least two primary goals: (1) to help each pupil develop the sense of self, values, and character traits that enable him to become a unique and creative person; and (2) to help each pupil acquire the knowledge, skills and disciplines necessary to survive, mature, and lead the good life. Stated more simply, the school system should at least help each pupil to fulfill himself and perceive reality accurately.

In order to reach these interdependent goals today, the school must more and more often be concerned with problems that previously were thought to lie outside the province of formal education; and, in fact, one major problem immediately evident is that many administrators, teacher, and other school personnel still think that these problems are "social" rather than "educational," as if there could be such a separation.

The accurate perception of reality, for example, requires that the pupil encounter those persons and experiences -- in fact as well as through textbooks and other curriculum aids -- that adequately represent the world,

in which he actually lives. An all-Caucasian school or an all-Negro school hardly is representative of that world, and experiences in such an environment in various degrees distort the pupil's perception of reality.

The urban school system, as another example, on the basis of habit and outlook has geared its aims and methods to the well-motivated pupil of approved middle-class background and attitudes. Yet more and more pupils in the classroom, and those who already have dropped out and constitute the "social dynamite" outside of the classroom, are the unmotivated, the hard-to-reach, the "culturally deprived" (and those often confused with the culturally deprived but who actually are culturally different--the Mexican-Americans.) The Ford Foundation says that in 1950, one pupil in ten in America's fourteen largest cities was "culturally deprived;" in 1960 it was one in three, and by 1970 it will be one in two if the trend is not reversed.

Traditional administrative patterns and teaching methods, as yet another example, have focused on overt factors: class size as determined by financial and structural considerations, teachers talking to pupils, presumed acceptance by pupils of various kinds of authority, intellectually orientated -- as opposed to emotionally orientated -- curriculum aids, etc. Yet even the most sensitive teacher may not be able to prevent alienation and damage to self-image in a class of forty, and subtle attitudes and feelings conveyed by an insensitive teacher may have more impact than knowledge of subject matter or formal teaching skill.

The list could be expanded indefinitely.

In order, then, to improve education for all children in our society, steps must be taken to face problems and devise solutions in a manner com-

pletely different from previous approaches. The following are examples of what must be involved in a minimum program of educational change:

1. Independently financed and supervised non-teaching teams should be attached to each school to encourage and promote a "school-community partnership" and alleviate what now is often a conflict between two warring worlds -- pupils and parents, on the one hand, and professional educators, on the other. These teams should include a human relations consultant, psychologist, and social worker, who will work closely with school personnel.

2. A massive small-group program of sensitivity training for school personnel at all levels must be established on an on-going basis. It is evident from past experience that formal education and teaching experience does not, in itself, lead to the knowledge, awareness, and sensitivity that is required in working with people today.

3. Pre-service training in human relations, working with disadvantaged children, and reaching the hard-to-reach should be a mandatory part of teaching credential programs; in-service training, on school time, to provide continuing education in these areas also should be mandatory.

4. There should be immediate study and implementation in connection with use of pragmatic and effective techniques and practitioners from the Peace Corps, the Job Corps, tutorial programs, etc., in in-service and pre-service teacher training, teacher-aid programs, and efforts to reach the disadvantaged and hard-to-reach. (Experience in programs such as the Peace Corps should be reflected in official credit toward teaching credentials or higher salary increments.)

5. There should be a greatly expanded school camping program, so that every teacher and every pupil will be able to get away from the pressures of urban living and meet in a totally different environment, one that is much more conducive to interpersonal understanding and the establishment of genuine relationships.

6. The financial and personnel resources must be found to reduce class size everywhere to a maximum of fifteen pupils to one teacher, simply to provide the atmosphere in which education for the goals indicated can take place.

7. To encourage the development and use of creative educational ideas and to learn all we can about ways of coping with our growing problems, there should be a "free choice" among competing educational systems. There should be a decentralization within school districts to permit a wide range of pilot projects -- Montessori schools, "progressive" schools, art and music high schools, vocational high schools, etc. -- with free transportation throughout the system and parents free to choose for their children among the options available. This very probably would also lead to increased school integration.

8. The concept of "educational parks" -- an entire complex of elementary schools, junior high schools, and high school (or even three four-year schools -- the 4-4-4 plan) with reduced costs in land, facilities, bookkeeping, laboratory equipment, curriculum aids, etc. -- should be considered, as a possibility in itself or as part of the program of decentralized competing systems mentioned above.

9. In addition to these proposals, the "sister schools" concept -- developing sustained communication across inter-racial, inter-cultural,

and inter-economic-class lines with students, faculty, and parents -- might well be considered as a first step toward more comprehensive programs.

Each of these programs anticipates the expenditure of large sums of money and a virtual reorganization of our school system. They also require a re-thinking of the educational institution in our new kind of society. Many writers over the last few years have called for a revolution in our educational institutions. It would appear that the time has long since passed when we should be doing something about it.

Assemblyman Jesse Unruh has made some interesting proposals in this connection, and suggests that sufficient financial support can be found through a revision of the State's tax structure. The Commission should give its support to Mr. Unruh's plan, and should assist in selling this concept through the community groups it has organized and continues to serve throughout the County. To be effective on a large scale in meeting the problems of our interdependent urban complex, such a program should encompass the entire urban community. One barrier to this objective is the existence of more than ninety school districts in Los Angeles County alone. As a contribution to the solution of these human relations problems that can be attacked through the institution of education, the legislature and our local County School Board should be urged to step up the pace of district consolidation.

With respect to suggestion number two above, it is worthy of note that this Commission was instrumental in assisting the Extension Division of UCLA to inaugurate such a program in Pasadena more than eighteen months ago. In fact, Superior Court Judge Richard F. C. Hayden secured a considerable sum of money to intensify such a program in that area; one that

would be available to almost every teacher in the school district. We feel that Pasadena, for many reasons, would be a good "proving ground" for such a sensitivity training program. This Commission should encourage the resumption and the implementation of this program.

UCLA, through its Extension Division, stands ready to greatly enlarge the scope and coverage of this type of program. It is inhibited from doing so by lack of financial support from State funds. This Commission should ask the County Board of Supervisors to use its influence with the legislature in providing the financial support to the Extension Division that would enable it to do an effective job in this area. The Commission, on its own part, should assume a responsibility for "selling" such a program to appropriate school boards throughout the County.

In all of this, the Commission stands in a somewhat difficult and untenable position in relation to the schools, school districts, and school personnel of the County. We, of course, have no enforcement power, and our ability even to offer advice, counsel, and service depends upon personal contacts, relationships and the awareness by those who are in a position to affect educational policies and practices, of need for our help and of our previous and continuing positive contributions to the solution of human relations problems in many school districts. That we believe the Commission offers an excellent source of such help, and that we believe the foregoing proposals vitally need immediate consideration, in no way guarantees that all educators in the County are aware of our availability, much less agree with our suggestions at this time. An expanded educational effort by the Commission, with the full support of the Board of Supervisors, in order to

more widely publicize the ways in which the Commission might be of help -- the ways in which the Commission might assist school districts in the solution of human relations problems -- is essential.

Recommendations:

1. That the Board of Supervisors use its influence with the State Legislature to the end that additional financial support may be given the Extension Division of the University of California at Los Angeles to work with school districts for improving the quality of public education.

2. That the Board of Supervisors, through the County Superintendent of Schools, disseminate information on the services available through the Commission and promote their utilization by the school districts of the County, particularly those districts in which human relations problems are most acute.

3. That the Board of Supervisors urge a stepped up pace in the consolidation of school districts.

4. That the Board of Supervisors ask the County Superintendent of Schools to consider the merit of the other suggestions contained herein and to report to the Board on their feasibility.

A Palliative For A Short Term Cure:

Employment On a Massive Scale

Since the August riots the Los Angeles Times, in a series of articles, has sought to convey to its readers the "feeling of Watts." Shorn of all its verbiage, the Times articles convey one major expression of feeling and one overwhelming need, as recognized by the people in South Los Angeles. The feeling of the people is that the white community doesn't care about the problems of Negroes, the recognized need is for jobs.

Looking behind these expressions of the people, though, we see something else -- a desire to "be somebody;" to be a part of the economy -- not just a worker in it or a recipient of charity from it. At the moment, however, the need is for jobs, and if jobs are provided in sufficient quantity the belief will begin to grow that "somebody cares."

The South Los Angeles area, with ninety-per-cent-plus Negro population, and the East Los Angeles area, with the largest single concentration of Mexican-Americans, are the two areas with the highest unemployment rates in the County.

It is reported that in excess of thirty per cent of the employable population in South Los Angeles is out of work, and that more than 45 per cent of the "out-of-school youth" between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one are unemployed. To some extent the Job Corps program has reduced the percentage of unemployment but the pay (\$1.27 per hour) is not universally attractive and, at best, it is a stop-gap measure.

Just after the riot the president of the Los Angeles Chamber of

Commerce appointed a special committee, headed by one of Los Angeles' most influential citizens, to seek for at least a partial solution of the problem of unemployment through private business and industry. This committee of about forty of the top executives in the community represent companies with assets counted in the billions of dollars.

Our Commission was asked to assist in the organization of a group of Negro business leaders with which this special Chamber of Commerce Committee could work. Such an organization was formed, and the two groups are now engaged in finding jobs and job training opportunities for Negroes and Mexican-Americans. As of this date, however, their efforts have produced meager results, when measured by the enormity of the problem. They have provided perhaps 200 to 300 jobs and job training opportunities over the past six or eight weeks. More than 5,000 jobs will be needed to make a serious impact upon the South Los Angeles problem; several thousand more to materially improve the East Los Angeles situation.

The Federal government, through several of its departments and agencies, has given some indication that several millions of dollars will be made available to mount a parks development program in the Angeles National Forest and for public works projects in the City and in unincorporated areas. Some 5,000 to 10,000 job opportunities have been envisioned through such a program. To date, however, no funds have come through from Washington either to the State or to the County.

It is absolutely imperative that at least 5,000 jobs be made available within the next several weeks -- before Thanksgiving. Members of the Commission staff working in the South Los Angeles area indicate that restless-

ness is increasing among the unemployed. The tenor and tone of the community is ominous, and grows more so as the promised jobs have not materialized. The magnitude of the employment problem is, we believe, beyond the present capacity of private enterprise or local government.

We do feel, however, that local government should, if at all possible, start the ball "rolling" until the Federal government comes through on its commitments.

One of the problems faced in hiring persons from these areas (and especially the South Los Angeles area) is the fact that a large percentage of the population has a police record. At this time, the existence of a police record seriously limits the chances of an individual being hired by a public agency; or, indeed, by many private businesses. We propose that a new look be taken at these records. A police record does not necessarily mean that a person has been convicted of a crime. We should make a differentiation between a "police" record and a "criminal" record. Indeed, we should even look closely at a "criminal" record before we deny a person an opportunity to work for a living. It is a peculiar quirk of reasoning that even though government is responsible for the rehabilitation of the criminal and for providing for his family through public assistance while he is in jail, or is out of jail but absent from his family, that government will not do the one thing -- the lack of which may have been responsible for his criminal activity in the first place -- provide an opportunity for employment.

Recommendations:

1. An immediate review of the Civil Service rules regulating the eligibility of persons with arrest records, with particular reference to

those job classifications of a non-sensitive or non-professional type; and the creation of a special panel to pass on every person to be hired in this program so that unilateral exclusion on the basis of a police record or a criminal record will not occur. If this is not done, present statistics indicate that a significant number of the unemployed will be prevented from obtaining employment.

2. That private industry, through the Commission's Ad Hoc Committee on Employment, work for the establishment of a panel of personnel officers from private industry to draft criteria for the use of private industry that will take into consideration the question of police or criminal records, and how best the problem of the employment of such persons may be effectively dealt with.

3. That the County of Los Angeles and the City of Los Angeles immediately divert some of its road-building funds from projects outside East and South Los Angeles into those areas. It is of critical importance that this be done as quickly as is humanly possible. It is equally important that persons residing in these two areas receive the bulk of the employment opportunities. If this means the adoption of new rules involving Civil Service examinations, such action should be taken immediately.

The Long Term View

It has been stated previously that employment, important as it is, does not represent the long term cure of the major economic problems faced by the Negro and the Mexican-American in this community; or, for that matter,

any other area in the United States. America is a capitalistic society, and its greatness has been based upon an economic system of free enterprise.

We must be candid and honest as we interpret the underlying causes of the August riots. The selectivity with which the destruction of property took place was plainly a protest -- irrational though it may have been -- against exclusion from being a full partner in our economic system. We therefore need to provide an opportunity not just for jobs, but for ownership in our system of free enterprise for Negroes and Mexican-Americans on a scale hitherto unknown in this country. People do not burn what they own. They do not destroy that which they have been instrumental in creating.

It is not suggested that government at the local level has a primary responsibility to make ownership of substantial business enterprises possible for the Mexican-American and the Negro. The Federal government, through the Small Business Administration, has seen this need and has begun to provide funds for this purpose through the Los Angeles Area Economic Development Agency. We doubt, though, that the efforts of this quasi-governmental agency will be sufficient although, if properly financed, it is capable of making a tremendously significant contribution.

We believe that in this area private industry and business can play a more significant role than government. Members of the Commission staff have already been engaged in conversation with a major nation-wide business chain. It has been pointed out that Negroes and Mexican-Americans have no involvement, at the executive or administrative level, in any really major business concern in the nation -- with only one possible exception. It has

been suggested that this particular firm form a wholly owned subsidiary to market the identical retail products as does the parent company; that this subsidiary be organized on an interracial basis, with Negroes and Mexican-Americans in high administrative and executive positions; that the parent company provide the necessary training and business guidance to this minority group personnel until, through experience, they become proficient in the operation of the business.

Such a business could and should have outlets in every section of the County -- not just in minority group areas. The personnel to be trained should be, as far as possible, indigenous to this community. A public relations program of major proportions should be entered into to "let the people know" that American business and industry is helping them to own and operate a slice of the free enterprise structure, and not confining them forever to be simply workers in the system.

If private industry of a highly diversified nature could mount ten such projects, and locate their initial business sites in the Mexican-American and Negro communities -- all on an interracial basis, with regard to both management and workers -- we will have begun to create a new pattern of economic opportunity that we believe would make well nigh impossible a repetition of the August riots, so far as the economic base of those disturbances is concerned.

Recommendation:

That the Board of Supervisors give serious consideration to this proposal and use its considerable influence in promoting this point of view in the business community, thus giving added strength to the Commission's present efforts.

Thwarting the Expansion of the Negro Ghetto

One of the central facts of urban life today, common to every major metropolitan area, is the constant growth of the Negro ghetto. Without entering into a discussion of the controversy of whether or not the concentration of the Negro population in the central core of the city does or does not constitute a "ghetto" in the classical definition of that term, we must all agree that to an alarming degree such concentration does, in fact, exist.

Los Angeles County has at least eight well-defined areas in which almost 95 per cent of its Negro population is concentrated. (Central Los Angeles, Pacoima, a portion of Venice, an enclave in Monrovia, a similar enclave in Long Beach, the unincorporated areas of Willowbrook and Florence-Graham, and the South Western and North Western portion of Pasadena.)

In considering the dissolution of the ghetto, two problems are present in the central core of Los Angeles City; (1) stopping the spread of the concentrated Negro residential community and (2) bringing the Anglo back into the central city. The former is far easier to accomplish, relatively speaking, than is the latter, although both present formidable problems.

The dissolution of the ghetto is a sine qua non to the reduction of interracial tension and the creation of a stable community in which peace and harmony can, with almost absolute certainty, be achieved, so far as interracial conflict on a broad scale is concerned.

The growth and the expansion of the ghetto follows a classic pattern in most metropolitan areas. Los Angeles, together with six other areas in the County, conform to this pattern. In the City area itself, in 1960, 86.6% of the Negro population lived in substantially segregated communities; and in the County as a whole, 82.6% of the total Negro population lived in communities in which the non-white population was from 65% to 100%. It is not unrealistic to say that if the present trend toward almost total residential segregation

is not slowed and reversed, by 1990 the core of the Central City of Los Angeles will be inhabited almost exclusively by more than 1,250,000 Negroes. Approximately 500,000 additional Negroes will be inhabiting six or seven other "core centers" in a similar number of cities in the metropolitan area.

This process is now proceeding at such a rapid rate that if allowed to proceed unchecked, it will be almost impossible to reverse by 1970. Fortunately, it appears that the geography and the "style of building dwellings" that have been characteristic of the Los Angeles area is in favor of such a "slowing down" process to a much greater extent than is true of most large metropolitan centers.

The Negro population of the City of Los Angeles has tended to spread on the edges of its own concentrated area since 1930. This spread has consistently been to the South and West. Many factors have been responsible for this phenomenon, including: restrictive housing covenants, policies of real estate dealers, natural barriers existing on the eastern periphery (Alameda Boulevard, with its railroad tracks and industrial strips) and the existence of a "hostile" population in the cities along the eastern boundary of Alameda Boulevard and along the western boundary of Western Avenue south of Slauson Avenue.

Another important factor has been, and continues to be, the "natural disinclination" of the average Negro citizen to move too far away from those by whom he is accepted.

To deal with this growing problem, the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations proposes a massive "stabilization" program along the entire western boundary of the present Negro population. The details of this program are quite involved. It is perhaps sufficient to state at

this time that the program involves a "total effort" on a block by block basis to spread the Negro population expansion in a controlled fashion to the South and West, so that no area reaches that sociological "tipping point," and thereby tends to become an all-Negro community. In short, the objective is to prevent the concentration of Negroes in any one area by keeping the population moving constantly, thus preventing it from consolidating in any given area. At the present time more than one thousand citizens in an area bounded on the North by Wilshire Boulevard, on the South by Inglewood, and on the East by Crenshaw Boulevard are members of "stabilization groups." We propose providing sufficient staff services to these groups necessary to the development of an effective community organization to achieve this objective.

We believe we have the capability and the opportunity, at the very least, to stop the expansion of the ghetto. Bringing the Anglo-Caucasian back into the Central City is another problem to be dealt with later in this series of proposals. This stabilization effort should not be confined to the Central Los Angeles City area alone. Pasadena, Venice, Pacoima, Compton and Monrovia are also in need of this service. In fact, there are eight community stabilization groups already organized in various parts of the County to which consultant services from the Commission are needed. At the present, as has been indicated, our staff resources will permit the needed services, in an effective, concentrated fashion, to only three of the groups. The greatest danger at the moment, however, lies in Central Los Angeles and in Pasadena.

Such a project will require the cooperation of many segments of our community. Builders and tract developers, real estate associations, apartment owner associations, fair housing councils must be persuaded to become

included in this effort. If the westside is stabilized, some way must be found to make decent, safe and sanitary housing available to minority group persons, at prices they can afford to pay, in other parts of the County. "Thwarting the Expansion of the Ghetto," therefore, becomes a problem that requires a broadly based program that will embrace every aspect of the housing and community development.

New and other good housing stands under-utilized at the same time that minority families, particularly Negroes, able to afford such housing, continue to live in the ghetto accomodations that are inadequate to meet their needs. Southern California's housing economy is in a slump because of over-production of housing units, resulting in large numbers of vacant apartments and single homes. Tom Cameron (Los Angeles Times, May 9, 1965) points out that 1965 will probably show a reduction of 35,000 in shelter units constructed in Southern California in comparison with 1963; that in Southern California there is a "50,000-units-plus" overproduction, and that the problem is compounded by building practices such as those in one small Los Angeles suburban community with an "annual housing unit absorption capacity of 300" where, by the end of the year, there will be constructed 1,500 new housing units--five new units for everyone for which a market is foreseen. Economic Consultants, Inc., in a County-wide spring survey of apartment vacancies, found that in many suburban census tracts average apartment vacancies run as high as twenty to thirty per cent. How many of these vacant houses and apartments would be occupied if there were a completely "open" housing market? What would be the effect on business conditions in the housing industry and on the economy as a whole?

The Commission's program in housing and human relations is directed at the ultimate objectives of (1) "Open occupancy" housing in every community in the County; (2) the achievement of patterns of residential integration

accompanied by elimination of patterns of residential segregation; and (3) safe, sanitary and healthful housing for all County residents.

To achieve these objectives, the program should strengthen and support specialized organizational efforts and resources and promote cooperation among them on a County-wide basis. This means, in addition, the promotion of co-operative action on a geographic basis.

Organization and Cooperation. The Commission works cooperatively with the Community Relations Conference of Southern California and its many member human relations and civil rights organizations, and its other member groups and agencies with human relations concerns (churches, schools, and other civic and educational associations); and should continue to do so.

The Commission's Housing Section is now preparing a proposed plan for a major County-wide project. Entitled, "The Minority Housing Market Analysis and Information Project," it is designed to fill a serious gap in knowledge and practical information concerning the many factors involved in the consumer's, as well as the supplier's aspects of the minority housing market in relation to the general housing market and general economic conditions in the metropolitan area. The project has three specific objectives:

1. To collect data which describe supply and demand elements of the minority housing market in relation to the general housing market in the County.
2. To develop procedures for periodic analysis of trends in housing inventory as related to the financial ability, motivation, and experiences of minority families in regard to seeking housing accommodations, and the practices and experiences of housing industry people in relation to home-seekers of minority status.

3. To interpret findings from the above-described processes in such a way that they will be meaningful to the public (particularly to housing industry people, public officials with either housing or human relations responsibilities, and agencies and organizations working to foster equal opportunity in housing.)

This research project is designed to be used for a planned program of residential integration throughout Los Angeles County. We expect and will solicit the help and cooperation of the housing and real estate industry, the Chamber of Commerce, the League of California Cities, and other interested and affected organizations in the promotion and implementation of this effort. In order to do this, a Housing Information Service (HIS) is needed. A network of County-wide information services is needed, according to the pattern established already on a limited basis under the auspices of the Community Relations Conference of Southern California as a new service developed by Altadena Neighbors (called HIS), for the purpose of achieving their objectives in the field of neighborhood integration. HIS should also have regional centers where complaints particularly in but not limited to housing could be lodged and effectively handled.

Utilizing findings from the research project (described above) and technical guidance from appropriate sources, such a service could be designed to meet needs which can be classified in two different ways:

1. Geographically. Different kinds of information are needed in suburban areas where citizens are working for open occupancy housing, in integrated areas where citizen groups are working to maintain integration, and in central city segregated areas where minority families seek information as to how they can provide more adequate housing through increasing their ability to pay and the range of

their choices.

2. By Organizational Classification. Home builders, as well as residential remodeling contractors, need information specifically for them in regard to the potential of the minority hoising market as an integral part of their total market. The same principal applies to apartment owners and managers, to residential real estate brokers, to lenders, to government agencies, to organizations with differing functions in working to achieve equal opportunity in housing. Included, of course, is the Commission, whose success in carrying out its housing responsibilities will depend upon reliable and up-to-date information.

The general public, particularly the numerous "newcomers" and those who frequently move about within the County, could benefit greatly by availability of centers for housing information. Such centers for HIS could thus be of practical value to people, irrespective of their ethnic identification. In fact, reliable answers to human relations issues and general housing questions would be of great benefit to "majority group" citizens, and enable them to adapt constructively and wisely to the cosmopolitan County of Los Angeles.

The Commission has already provided basic study courses in human relations for local real estate boards, and hopes soon to expand this kind of service within real estate education programs and among housing industry trade associations.

(Attached hereto is a proposal for a Minority Housing Market Analysis and Information Project, which briefly outlines the elements of the project and suggests methodology --PG. 44)

Much of what has thus far been presented as a program for thwarting the expansion of the ghetto is dependent upon an extensive community redevelopment program which would accomplish three objectives: (1) Rehabilitation of the

cities and the County's slum and sub-standard housing; (2) making these areas attractive enough to "entice" the Anglo back into the Central City; and (3) providing attractive, well-constructed low-cost housing for purchase or rental by all segments of our population.

Urban Renewal has been a "nasty" phrase to most minority group persons, and to those who view any governmental intervention into the field of housing as "socialistic." It should be evident to all concerned and knowledgeable citizens, however, that the great expansion of private housing in this country over the past twenty-five years could not have taken place without the financial assistance of such agencies as the Federal Housing Administration and the Urban Redevelopment Agency. If government is to be responsible for the "general welfare" of the people, it then certainly has a role to play in one of the most critical areas of the "general welfare" -- assisting in providing decent housing -- and largely through the utilization of private enterprise. It is probably not too far off the mark to say that the housing industry, as one of America's most important private enterprises, would be in jeopardy of its very existence as a healthy, viable entity without the kind of governmental backing and assistance it has received from the Federal Government.

It must be admitted that for many years these Federal housing agencies' efforts were, in some parts of the nation, detrimental to and were implemented in such a fashion as to be in opposition to the creation of a program designed to promote residential integration of minority group populations. For this reason, the general attitude and feeling of minority group persons have not been supportive of efforts such as those proposed and promoted by Community Redevelopment Agencies. The present fact is, however, that such federal agencies policies are now, at the community agency level, being encouraged to develop programs designed to accomplish the three objectives outlined above.

More than two years ago the Commissioner of the Urban Renewal Administration

stated (Journal of the American Institute of Planners, November, 1963, page 263):

Every CRP undertaken subsequent to June, 1963 will consider the special housing problems faced by minority groups. In a statement made on June 20, 1963, Urban Renewal Commissioner Slayton announced that, to assist in meeting the objectives of President Kennedy's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, every future CRP would include:

(1) An analysis of the existing pattern of housing occupied by Negroes and other minorities and the extent to which this pattern is a result of discrimination: (2) projection of the housing needs of Negro and other minority families, including those displaced by urban renewal and other public action, and those newly moving into the community; and (3) development of an affirmative program to increase the quantity, improve the quality, and eliminate barriers to housing for Negro and other minority families.

Community-wide relocation analyses can be made only on the basis of comprehensive inventories and forecasts of the housing stock available in various price ranges. Of particular relevance is identification of the pressing housing problems of minority groups, walled in by discriminatory barriers and faced by the bulldozers of highway construction and other public works, as well as by the impact of urban renewal.

It would appear that the only practical possibility for rehabilitating the deteriorating areas of our great metropolitan centers is through the help of such Federal agencies as the Urban Renewal Administration. It would also seem that

the most practical answer to decent housing, on a massive scale, for minority group residents can be made available only through the utilization of the benefits provided by this Federal agency. In addition, such rehabilitation could also, under a well devised program, serve to bring a substantial part of the "wandering" Anglo-Caucasian back into the Central City.

The antipathy of the Negro and the Mexican-American to Urban Renewal grows out of the fact that in the early years of the program, and to some extent today, Negroes in Eastern cities experienced even more segregated residential conditions and slum situations after urban renewal than before. However, policies and practices change. Urban Renewal today is much more aware of and concerned about the development of projects that promote residential integration than was true in the past.

The acceptance of Urban Renewal as a tool to dissipate the segregated community, to provide housing over a wide geographical area for minority group persons, to entice white persons back to the core of this city must and, we believe, can be sold to the minority group peoples of this community.

The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relation, together with private human relations agencies, have the capability of changing the present attitude toward urban renewal. If the Urban Renewal agencies and the cities they represent in Los Angeles County are willing to use their renewal capability in the direction indicated herein, the Commission and other private agencies should, through the process of community organization in the areas needing such services, be able to generate public support for such a program.

The Federal government through the Federal Housing Administration provides for the construction of low-cost housing by non-profit organization. This housing is referred to as "221D3" housing the utilization of this program should contribute substantially to the housing needs of low-income families on both a rental and a purchase basis.

It is vital that sound action be taken soon to utilize all the resources of private industry and commerce and of the Local, State and Federal Governments in cooperative efforts to reconstruct residential housing, as well as planned shopping centers and commercial and industrial activities in the blighted areas of the major cities of the County. The housing section of the Commission is establishing, through exploratory discussions on the "Minority Housing Market Analysis and Information Project" and through personal and agency contacts, on a County-Wide basis, communication lines necessary to contribute toward such cooperative action, in line with the responsibilities and goals as outlined herein.

The ultimate general welfare of all the people of the County depends upon social and economic, as well as ethnic, integration throughout the county. A housing program is needed, therefore, which will enable builders (for example) profitably to construct and sell such housing. The proposals outlined herein suggests the development of plans and procedures for intelligent planning for residential housing on a County-wide basis, in cooperation with private and public planning agencies.

Of particular importance for the large Mexican-American population of the County is a program for dispersion of sturdy and spacious low-cost housing. Mexican-Americans are scattered throughout the County; they outnumber the Negro population; the proportion of substandard housing among them is even higher than that of Negroes; and many cannot afford adequate housing generally available on the market.

In addition to, and as important as, the above-described long-range programs to facilitate basic changes to deal with underlying sources of racial and class conflict stemming largely from residential segregation, an historic and ever-present and perhaps growing need is to have a County-wide organizational

structure and program to prevent and reduce neighborhood hysteria and panic as minority families exercise their right to move into areas previously closed to them. Neighborhood Involvement Committees with this function are developing in some suburban areas (notably under the San Fernando Valley Fair Housing Council,) and the Commission intends to work to increase the number of such groups and assist them through involvement of churches and other community organizations.

Recommendations:

1. --That the Board of Supervisors initiate conversations between the agencies listed below to accomplish the objectives listed above.
 - a. The City of Los Angeles Planning Commission
 - b. The Community Redevelopment Agency of Los Angeles City and the Cities of Pasadena and Long Beach
 - c. The Regional Planning Commission
 - d. The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations
 - e. Private interest groups such as the building industry and the fair housing groups
2. --That the Board of Supervisors ask the League of California Cities to investigate the possibility of urging other cities in the County to establish Community Redevelopment agencies - in order that a beginning might be made toward a Redevelopment Plan for the entire metropolitan area.
3. --That the County Board of Supervisors itself establish such an agency to plan for the rehabilitation of certain unincorporated areas of the County, working in cooperation with the Commission on Human Relations and the Regional Planning Commission.

Proposal
for a
MINORITY HOUSING MARKET ANALYSIS AND INFORMATION PROJECT

RESUME

This is a proposal for a comprehensive project to obtain and disseminate periodic information over a 5-year span of time, information not now available in useful form concerning the minority housing market in Los Angeles County.

Following are brief statements of the problem the project's purpose, its importance and objectives, methods, leadership and organization, and needed financial support.

THE PROBLEM

It seems feasible, timely, and of great importance that the Commission take immediate steps to fill a serious information gap in regard to housing and human relations in Los Angeles County. This gap is astounding when one considers its critical importance for the economy and general welfare of the people of the County. It is the lack of reliable and practical information about the characteristics and potential of the Minority Housing Market in Los Angeles County.

PURPOSE AND SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

The purpose, therefore, of this proposal for a research and information project is to supply periodically, over a 5-year span, up-to-date guidelines as to the characteristics and prospects of the minority housing market in Los Angeles County.

Over-all objectives of the project may be stated as follows:

1. To collect data which describe supply and demand elements of the minority housing market in relation to the general housing market in the County.
2. To develop procedures for periodic analysis of trends in housing inventory as related to the financial ability, motivation, and experiences of minority families in regard to seeking housing accommodations and the practices and experiences of housing industry people in relation to home-seekers of minority status.
3. To interpret findings from the above-described processes in such a way that they will be meaningful to the public (particularly to housing industry people, public officials with either housing or human relations responsibilities, and agencies and organizations working to foster equal opportunity in housing.)

IMPORTANCE

The importance of securing reliable information in practical form on this subject seems evident at a time when the expenditure of many millions of dollars is contemplated by government agencies, private foundations, and private enterprise to meet housing needs of all income levels and all ethnic groups.

Not only is such information vital for the economic security of business people in all phases of housing supply; it is also of crucial importance for individuals and families who constitute the "consumer" (or buyer and tenant) phase of the market.

Housing decisions affect the safety and welfare of the general public; every citizen has a stake in the wisdom of such decisions, for they determine the quality, physical as well as social and psychological, of the environment in which people live.

Finally, the project will aid the Commission in carrying out its housing program directed at prevention and reduction of tensions and conflict among persons of different ethnic background in all areas of the County. It will assist the Commission realistically to plan for the achievement of full participation in community life on the basis of equality and justice and unrestricted opportunity by persons who have experienced or otherwise learned to expect limitations based upon their skin color, their nationality, or their religious heritage. Full participation in the "housing market place" is one of the keys to progress toward that goal.

METHOD

The proposed method for carrying out the above objectives is as follows:

A Project Director will be given central responsibility for both the research and publication phases of the project. The efficiency of the project may be assured by the utilization of existing real estate and social science research organizations. Such organizations, already identified and committed to support the project, constitute technical know-how, modern electronic equipment and supplies, sampling procedures already in operation with available personnel, and facilities for publication. Each organization has a reputation for competence in its field.

Under the supervision of the Director, sub-units of research can be carried out by contract with specific cooperating research organizations. Sub-units will include specific research assignments in such subject areas as population, housing, attitudes, social and economic factors, etc.

Publication of research findings can take two forms. First quarterly reports on such topics as those mentioned above can be made widely available for government agencies, private agencies and civic organizations, and the general public. Second, from time to time a report can be published concerning an in-depth

study of a particularly important topic relating to minority housing (for example, "Mexican-American Housing Problems and Prospects in Los Angeles County").

ORGANIZATION AND LEADERSHIP

The Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations is an appropriate sponsor for this project because:

1. It is by law charged with responsibility for research and education in the field of human relations.
2. Its research, consultant, and administrative staff are qualified to give general guidance and direction to the project.
3. It has access to community organization resources throughout the County and is therefore in a position to put the research findings to immediate use in its human relations program and programs of cooperating organizations.
4. Its policy is to provide consultant services in human relations and housing to individuals, organized groups, and the general public upon request.
5. The Commission is particularly interested in development of constructive communication between civil rights and human relations groups and minority citizens on the one hand and individual businessmen and organized groups within the housing industry on the other.

Organization. It is proposed that leadership of the project involve assignment of central responsibility to a Project Director, independent of the Commission but responsible by contract to the Commission's Executive Director. It is suggested that organization of the project under the Project Director include:

1. Utilization of Housing Consultants and the Research Analyst within Commission staff as resources for development of research goals.
2. Utilization of other Commissioners and Human Relations Consultants in such phases of the project as preparation of program recommendations based on research findings.
3. Organization of a Minority Housing Market Analysis Committee to serve as a project advisory group. It should include leaders of the housing industry, government, human relations, and civil rights groups; and it should include a Research Sub-Committee composed of research specialists in each subject-matter category of the project.

Dealing With the Destructive
"Self-Fulfilling Prophecy"

There is no reasonable doubt that tensions exist between the Police and the "visible" minority groups in the Los Angeles area. There is a long history out of which this antipathy, especially on the part of the Negro, against the Police has developed.

It must be understood that there is in this community (among Negroes) support for the institution of law enforcement. This is true even though that institution, particularly in many Southern communities, has been something less than hospitable to and protective of the rights and privileges of the Negro as an American citizen.

Without going into exhaustive detail it is, perhaps, sufficient to state that because of two factors, tensions between the Police and Negroes has been increasing over the past several months. The term "several months" is not to imply that such relations were particularly good prior to several months ago. The two factors are: First, the nature of the segregated community itself, which makes it virtually impossible for Negroes to change the attitudes toward police that they brought here with them. There is very little meaningful communication -- and with the vast majority of the Negro population in South Los Angeles, no communication at all with the Anglo community. When we recognize the fact that more than fifty per cent of the Negroes migrating to Los Angeles come from Southern communities it is not difficult to see how antagonistic attitudes persist. Such attitudes can be fanned into raw and bitter anger if only one police officer mistreats a person in discharging his duty -- and no reasonable person can be persuaded that such mistreatment never occurs.

Among a force of 4500 men it is almost a mathematical impossibility that all police officers adhere to the announced policy of the Department regarding equality of treatment of minority group persons. Secondly:

When such treatment does occur, it usually becomes a matter of public knowledge in the minority group communities; and, as usual, the story many times becomes more and more distorted as it is told and retold. The net result is that a "self-fulfilling prophecy" begins to develop. This "self-fulfilling prophecy" operates in the sense that many Negroes, perhaps all but a small minority of Negroes in the lower socio-economic class, begin to honestly believe that when an individual Negro is approached by a police officer he (the Negro) is going to be roughly treated. The policeman, on his part -- and due to his and other police officers' experiences and attitudes -- believes that he is going to meet with resistance in the discharge of his duty. These two sets of expectations all too frequently produce what each party expects. This is a natural phenomenon among man -- and even lower animal forms -- and operates in many different kinds of contacts between human beings. When, however, it operates in the context of and with the historical background against which the Negro views the symbol of "white" authority, we have most of the ingredients for conflict.

Much of the recent tension existing between law enforcement officers and members of minority group communities reflects an almost total lack of meaningful communication between these two elements of our society. It is almost axiomatic that the relations between these two elements will not substantially improve unless there are developed lines of communication that can serve to provide a better basis for mutual understanding and respect.

Law enforcement is the business of every citizen, for if the vast majority of our citizens did not "police" their own behavior and the behavior of their

children, the incidence of crime would be much greater than it is. Each citizen has a responsibility to assist the formal institutions of law and order to do as effective a job as is possible. This assistance can best be accomplished by understanding the role of the police in our communities, and in promoting among the citizens a respect for the law and for the police officer.

In like manner, the policeman cannot be an effective instrument of law and order unless he also understands the people upon whom he must enforce the law. Respect is a two-way street, down which both the individual officer and the individual citizen must tread. The process by which this mutual respect and interdependence is accomplished is "meaningful communication."

For every incident that occurs between the police and members of the minority group individually, the potential for a tension situation exists. For every tension situation that occurs, there are literally scores of "interpretations" as to what, in fact, actually happened. In every community there is usually one or more persons who is a part of the "opinion molding" process. These persons are not usually in communication with the law enforcement agency in their community. For this reason the police point of view is rarely heard and, if heard, is rarely supported, because no confidence exists between the police and those who mold opinions.

The Commission on Human Relations was established to "eliminate tensions" between the various elements that constitute the population of Los Angeles County. We believe that communications, developed through a process of community organization, can go a long way toward the accomplishment of this purpose. To this end, we propose to offer the services of the Commission in establishing communication on as broad a basis as is possible between the law enforcement agencies of the County and the minority group communities; especially the Negro and Mexican-American communities.

To this end, we would suggest the following:

1. The identification of the community leaders and the opinion molders in the territory covered by each of the divisions of the Los Angeles Police Department.
2. An orientation of the supervisory personnel of each division concerning certain sociological and psychological facts about the people with whom they come into contact.
3. An orientation of the minority group leadership on the role of the police officer in the community.
4. The extending of an invitation, on a monthly basis, by the division Commander to several small, informal groups of community leaders for informal conversations in a social atmosphere in the division headquarters.
5. Eventually (and only after good rapport has been established between these two groups), the careful organization of a series of quarterly open forums, where police and community people can discuss openly and frankly the issues about which they are concerned.

The Human Relations Commission proposes to offer its services in developing a pilot project based upon the points outlined above, in one division of L.A.P.D. and one Sheriff's sub-station; such projects to begin shortly and to be assessed after a period of six months to determine its effectiveness.

For many years the Commission staff has conducted human relations training courses for police officers, the most noted and successful of which was conducted for the Compton Police Department over a period of five weeks, and was concluded just three or four weeks prior to the riots. We have reason to believe that this course was of at least some significance, in view of the fact that the riot did not have serious implications in that city. This course was significant because it involved every officer on the force, including the Chief of Police.

The Commission stands ready, within its limitations of staff, to provide similar courses for all police agencies in the County that wish such services.

More than eighteen months ago the Commission made public the "Report and Recommendations" of its Special Law Enforcement Committee. We believe that the recommendations contained therein are sound, constructive, and should be implemented. While this report dealt specifically with the Los Angeles Police Department and the Sheriff's Department, we feel that it contains significant meaning for all police agencies.

In addition to this proposed pilot project, we have already suggested, in another section of these proposals, the wide use of mass media in the development of more positive relations between the police and minority groups.

The Commission is not the only intergroup agency in Los Angeles County with some measure of expertise in police-community relations. Many private agencies have long been interested in this matter and have conducted programs in the community to deal with it. We propose to work in close cooperation with these groups, assisting them with their programs and soliciting their assistance in the implementation of the suggestions made herein.

Recommendations

- (1) That if the pilot projects suggested herein are implemented and proved to be meaningful, the Board of Supervisors officially offer the entire range of police-minority group relations programs available through the Commission to all police jurisdictions in the County.
- (2) That the Board of Supervisors give official recognition and sanction to the Special Citizens Law Enforcement Committee's Report; that the Board order an attractive duplication of this mimeographed report by Central Duplicating, and that the Board transmit copies of this "Report and Recommendations" to all police jurisdictions in the County.

Setting The Record Straight

For more than 300 years there has been no consistent, creative, meaningful communication between the dominant group in our society and the minority groups that exist in its midst.

There are two major problems that present barriers to effective communication between the various elements in our community. If these barriers are not removed communication will not take place and intergroup understanding will not develop. One problem has been discussed in another part of this series of proposals - the highly segregated nature of residential living in Los Angeles County, particularly with reference to the Negro, although there is substantial residential segregation affecting the Mexican-American. The second problem grows out of the first - that old stereotypes held by each group toward the other tend to be perpetuated in the absence of an effective program designed to change the stereotyped attitudes.

It is a demonstrated statistical fact that attitudes can and do change substantially when there is contact between racial groups. Such attitudinal change was pointed out in a survey conducted for Newsweek magazine by the Lou Harris poll and reported in Newsweek October 21, 1963.

The dissolution of racially segregated communities is a long term project and cannot, therefore, be looked to to assist in the change of attitudes in the near future. It is vitally important that some effective substitute be found as quickly as possible.

For many years the Human Relations Commission has through its community organization program sought to change attitudes through a variety of programs in both the minority and the majority group communities. We have not, however ever promoted a well developed public information program through the various mass media to "sell" to the several racial, ethnic and religious groups a different set of attitudes toward each other.

On infrequent occasions the Commission has promoted panel discussions on television in the field of intergroup relations. These programs were rarely designed to change attitudes - their intent was simply to provide information to the public about issues in the field of intergroup relations.

We feel certain that newspapers, radio and television would be willing to cooperate, as a public service, in providing time and space for a well developed, well written series of articles, plays, documentaries and other types of programs designed to create a more positive set of racial and religious attitudes in the community.

There is a long history of positive contributions to the development of America by Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Jews and other groups that rarely comes to public attention. The Jewish community, for example, has for more than 75 years been vitally interested and tremendously helpful in providing increased educational opportunities for Negroes - but few Negroes know this. Even today individual Jews and Jewish organizations provide substantial financial assistance to the solution of problems faced by Negroes and Mexican - Americans. In the majority community, foundations such as the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, as well as many individuals, contribute time, effort, and money in helping minority groups to become more a part of the economic and social life of the community. The major church denominations have aided mightily in this effort, through such organizations as the Catholic Welfare Bureau. For a hundred years, the Congregational Church, for example, has established and maintained schools for Negroes in the South.

On the other hand, there are literally millions of Anglos in the County who are totally unaware of the great strides made by the Mexican-American and the Negro over the past fifty years. Every group tends to be unaware of

the progress made by any other group than its own -- except that the Mexican-American and the Negro groups are sometimes not aware of their own progress. Similarly, each group tends to be ignorant of the history of other groups, and of the contributions made to America by them. The result is a vast nexus of negative attitudes -- anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Mexican-American, anti-Oriental, and anti-Anglo. Such attitudes can be dissolved only by education and communication, and so long as they exist, they erect a formidable barrier to the mutual understanding and respect without which progress cannot be made in intergroup relations.

The Commission proposes a well thought out and well planned series of public information programs covering these areas of concern - including programs on police - community relations that we believe, will materially assist in reducing tensions and in promoting a healthy change in attitudes. We would hope to involve in these programs public officials, top-flight actors and writers, community leaders from all segments of the population. We envision a consistent and extensive program over a period of 52 weeks using all mass media in an effort to create a more positive human relations atmosphere in the community.

Conversations have already been held with some private agencies and mass media on this proposal. All seem enthusiastic and eager to participate.

Recommendation:

That the Board of Supervisors grant the request of the Commission in last years budget request for an Information and Education specialist to coordinate such a program.

Developing and Coordinating Leadership in the Mexican-American Community

Mexican-American leadership can be divided roughly into two groups: "key persons" and "unstructured leaders."

The "key persons" generally are those middle class individuals who for a long time have represented the Mexican-American to the Anglo, who participate in such organizations as the Council of Mexican-American Affairs, Mexican-American Chamber of Commerce, Community Service Organization, etc., and often also participate on the Ad Hoc Committees initiated by the L.A.C.C.H.R. to work in the areas of Housing, Employment, Education, and Police-Community relations.

The "unstructured leaders" are not elected to public office and therefore are not accountable to anyone. They have acquired an intimate knowledge of the community through their own life experience and from having been conditioned in the social environment of the community. By their obvious ability to perceive and express accurate or near-accurate reasons for social, economic, cultural and political problems, they acquire an image of being knowledgeable about many things. Hence the less privileged of the community turn to them for help and guidance.

Quite a few of these "unstructured leaders" have a small business of some kind; others are clerks or foremen. This gives them an added aura of being important and an ability to communicate informally but effectively with people in the neighborhoods. Invariably the average Mexican-American sees these persons as genuine community leaders who, it is assumed, know a great deal, do a great deal, and solve problems more readily than others. They are accepted more often than the professionals, who may even be "blood brothers."

Considerable confidence is placed in them.

In working with both of these leadership groups, the Commission must be careful not to infringe upon sensitive prerogatives and feelings, attempt to impose coordination and order upon those unwilling at this time to accept it, or take the lead in developing unity from "outside" the community. Rather, the Commission must provide support, consultation, services and opportunities within which Mexican-American individuals and organizations can grow in self-assurance and come to their own decisions on the desirability and forms of coordinated activity.

For the "key persons" and existing organizations, the Commission would propose the following programs:

1. A Basic Study Course in Human Relations - dealing in six sessions with basic human relations problems, the background, culture, and difficulties of the Negro, Oriental, and Jew, the Mexican-American in the Los Angeles area, and the techniques of community organization and community relations. This course would be presented by Commission staff and experts from local universities and professions NAPP workers, existing organizations, parents groups, etc., as these groups could be convinced of the need for such a program.
2. An intensive program of cooperation with Mexican-American educators, professionals, and organizations to develop films, books, pamphlets, and other educational materials specifically aimed at Mexican-American problems.
3. Consultant service by Commission staff to an expanded range of Mexican-American groups, clubs, associations of every kind.

4. The use of rumor clinics, role playing exercises, and other self-exploratory and attitude-changing techniques in the programs of all possible Mexican-American organizations.
5. The initiation and coordination of forums and conferences throughout the Mexican-American community on such topics as Negro-Mexican-American relations, automation and the changing economy, problems of group identity, etc. The widespread use of "key persons" in planning such programs will further expand skill and competence within this group.

For the "unstructured leaders," the Commission would propose the following programs:

1. A long-range but intensive program of sending Commission staff into all areas of the Mexican-American community to develop personal contacts on a daily basis with the natural groupings which exercise influence over the attitudes of many persons in the community -- essentially an adult group guidance program. Rapport thus established will serve both to exert influence over activities and opinions in the community and identify potential leaders.
2. Consultant service, in much the same manner as noted above, to youth clubs, parents groups, and more formally organized grass-roots councils and committees in order to develop and train leadership, encourage interest in broader human relations problems, and promote meetings and conferences for the dissemination of information on intergroup relations, community issues, civil rights legislation, and leadership processes.
3. An on-going Commission program of letter-writing, memorandum-sending, and telephone contacts in order to keep in touch with all

levels of the community, encourage self-esteem and sense of responsibility, and promote personal growth, problem analysis, and solution-seeking -- in short, an effective County-wide communications system on Mexican-American activities and problems.

At all times, whenever possible, the Commission will attempt to promote mutual programs and activities with both types of leadership groups, and even with those leaders who have left the community and whose help may be genuine but primarily symbolic.

Organizing the Leadership of the Negro Community

One of the statements often heard is that the Negro in Los Angeles lacks leaders -- or a leader. There seems to be an implication in this statement that the Negro population in Los Angeles is monolithic to the extent that one person or one leader could emerge who would be able to "lead the people."

In some areas of the nation there are persons who "more or less" conform to this concept, although in no section of the nation, and, particularly in no great city of our country is this concept of leadership entirely true. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in New York City and, to some extent Congressman William Dawson in Chicago, provide a kind of leadership that has some of the elements of this concept -- but even their leadership is not unchallenged and the direction they would wish to lead the people is often thwarted by the presence and influence of others of leadership ability. It seems certain that such leadership is impossible to develop in Los Angeles and the value of a "personality cult" kind of leadership is dubious. Los Angeles as a city and as a metropolitan area does not lend itself to the development -- either among the Negroes in the community or among any other of its racial and nationality groups of one strong, leader.

In New York if one were to ask a Negro where he lived he would probably say either "New York" or "Harlem" if he resided on Manhattan Island, or in "The Bronx, or in "Brooklyn." In New York the residents identify with a relatively large geographical and/or population unit. If that question were asked of a Negro resident of Los Angeles, he would be apt to say "Watts" or "Florence-Graham" or "Pacoima" or "Venice" -- he would probably not say "Los Angeles" -- he would rather refer to one of the several communities that constitute the city. This phenomenon is not confined to the Negro. The Anglo and the Mexican-American would respond in a similar fashion.

This peculiarity of community identification is an important consideration in the development of the emergence of leadership. The people look for and are more apt to accept leadership at the community level than at the city or county level. This is not to imply that there is no identification with Los Angeles as an entity. Such identification is, however, discernible more in terms of organizational affiliation than in terms of an individual leader. The NAACP in Los Angeles is composed of at least three chapters -- one covering all of Central Los Angeles -- another in the Hollywood area (to which some Negroes living in the Central area belong) and another in the San Fernando Valley.

One may not, therefore, expect to see any single Negro permitted to grasp the reins of leadership for the entire Negro community. Even the geography of the city and county militate against such a leadership concept. To say that the Negro leadership is "fractionalized" is to state a fact. It is fractionalized both along organizational and geographical lines.

There are many Negro organizations of various types existing all over the county. Many of them have substantial memberships. Some are affiliates of national Negro organizations. The great need is to construct a mechanism through which the leaders of these organizations and the "geographical

leaders" can begin to communicate effectively and determine objectives that can be implemented.

We would propose the establishment of an organization modeled in its practical aspects somewhat along the lines of the Jewish Federation Council -- an organization that would embrace all meaningful Negro organizations cutting across geographical and social class lines. Through such an organization decisions could be reached and the Negro community as a whole would, for the first time, have a viable, identifiable instrument through which it could deal effectively with its internal problems and could speak with one voice to the community at large.

To some extent this idea is not in keeping with the current trend toward the creation of an integrated society. In fact, it appears to be in direct conflict with that trend. Nevertheless, the creation of such an organization is a necessary step toward the goal of integration, although, on the surface, it may seem to be in conflict with that objective.

This, incidentally, is not a new proposal. In 1951 such an effort was made but it turned out to be abortive. Since that time the idea has been presented to several Negro organizations. There has always been acceptance of the idea as a good and needed objective. As of this date, however, no organization has sought to implement the idea. One reason for this is probably due to the fact that no neutral group exists in the Negro community that would be able to accomplish this task. Perhaps the "Men of Tommorow" came closest to being such a neutral group. However, no organization in the Negro community has the funds necessary to provide the staff work to accomplish this goal.

It is proposed that the L.A.C.C.H.R. provide the initial impetus to such an organizational effort. The Commission does stand in a neutral position.

It is known county-wide, it can contact all such organizations and it should provide a minimum amount of staff assistance to get the organization going. Such a federation could be of incalculable benefit in providing a forum upon which decisions affecting the Negro community could be implemented and in providing a vehicle through which the entire Los Angeles County community could speak to and with the organized Negro leadership. (One important "side benefit" of this pattern of organization would be the opportunity for Negro, Jewish, and other organizational leadership to discuss problems of mutual and growing concern.)

A Metropolitan Approach to Community Development

and

Problem Solving Programs in Los Angeles County

The South Los Angeles riot has been labeled "insurrection" and "social revolution." However, interviews with the residents of Watts and its environs, as in the recent series in the Los Angeles Times, reveal not a wish to overturn society, but rather, a deep sense of frustration and hopelessness in not being able to share in that society.

Certainly, in recent years, efforts were being expended in meeting some of those needs. A look at statistics reveals a heavy per capita expenditure for programs of public assistance, prevention of juvenile delinquency, police, health and others provided by many agencies. With the advent of the Federal poverty program and, especially since the conflagration, new offices have been opened in the area, again for the purpose of meeting the needs of the residents.

It must be painfully obvious to everyone that the past efforts were less than a total success, and that there can be no assurance of future success using routine procedures. Nothing less than a new, comprehensive approach to the provision of social service is required. We can no longer afford to delude ourselves and those we seek to help with the pouring of old wine into new bottles.

Martin Rein has described (Trans-action, May, 1964) the inadequacies of our system of social services:

"Almost every reader knows of people who have fallen into trouble that did not fit into any social service's individual

definition of its function, and who were therefore in effect, when all the buck-passing was finished, deprived of help. What is not so often mentioned are the trials of those who become involved with too many social services, each with different values, goals, and systems of classification."

The only way to avoid further gaps and/or duplication in services is to establish a mechanism for the co-ordination and co-operation of all agencies, public and private, which affect the quality of services provided to all the people of Los Angeles County.

Certainly this is not, of itself, a new idea. The virtues of inter-agency co-operation have long been sung. However, we propose an extension of co-ordination in both scope and function, which would for the first time seek to encompass the totality of social problems in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.

There are governmental departments, private agencies and associations which have problems of mutual concern but do not usually meet across their jurisdictional lines.

The Commission on Human Relations had already embarked prior to August, 1965, upon a serious and urgent effort to sound a warning and set in motion high-level thought and action among key decision makers in order that solutions of underlying urban problems might be achieved.

On July 1, 1965, just 41 days before the riots, in cooperation with the National Citizens' Committee to the U. S. Community Relations Service, the L. A. County Board of Supervisors, and the Mayor and the City Council of Los Angeles, the Commission sponsored a conference on "The Urban Reality." The Conference was co-sponsored by 48 major companies and labor unions and

supported by 29 participating organizations. Included among speakers and workshop leaders and participants were top officials of government, civic affairs, business, and private agencies.

The call to the "Urban Reality" was prophetic: "In the midst of plenty, we are confronted by the problems of hard-core poverty, by a mass of our citizens for whom poverty is not an accident of economic stress, but a way of life."

Likewise prophetic was the quotation in the July 1 conference program of the following excerpts from President Johnson's Commencement Address June 4, 1965, at Howard University:

"Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences - deep, corrosive, obstinate differences - radiating painful roots into the community, the family, and the nature of the individual."

The conference recognized that Los Angeles has been "a Mexican town for half of its existence," as pointed out by Occidental College's Laboratory on Urban Culture, and that three quarters of a million persons of Mexican descent live here.

Key officials of the Federal Government were present to describe their programs impinging upon the workshop topics: 1. Residential Integration and Revival of the Central City. 2. Poverty and the Urban Economy. 3. Education - Key to the Good Life. 4. Response to the Challenge of a Changing Social Order. Local private and public agency heads and civic leaders responded to the topics following these presentations.

Delegates to the conference strongly urged the Commission on Human Relations to convene follow-up meetings to develop plans for appropriate action in the fields of physical and social planning, in regard to housing and education, and in order that the business community, the diverse agencies and organizations in the County and governmental agencies at every level may come to grips with the many social problems arising from the "Urban Reality." Unfortunately the South Los Angeles riots occurred before the Commission was able to move effectively on the conference's proposal.

New Approaches: Criteria for Success

The staggering pace of urban change and massive proportions of the resulting human problems call for new approaches to civic planning and citizen involvement.

Up-to-date and continuing comprehensive research is needed.

A new synthesis of physical and social planning is imperative.

A new pattern of cooperation between private enterprise and government is needed to meet the housing and employment needs of the people, particularly the minority families that constitute one-fifth of the County's population.

Criteria for success which must be met by programs to meet the challenge of the "Urban Reality" include the following:

1. The approach must be metropolitan or regional in scope. Watts cannot be solved with programs limited to Watts - or even to the City of Los Angeles. The County of Los

Angeles appears to be the most manageable unit for planning and action.

2. The approach must be flexible enough to adapt to changing conditions. Legal rigidity or static structure would doom any program.
3. The specialized skills and technological resources of the region must be fully utilized.
4. Planning and action must be guided by factual information accumulated and constantly up-dated by modern electronic research methods.
5. Citizen involvement through a County-wide program of community development, including neighborhood work at the "grass-roots" level in local areas, is an essential component.
6. Cooperation and informal coordination achieved in the common interest and aggressively promoted by top leadership of the public and private sectors of the County will be essential. Mutual aid among existing independent and coordinated or "joint powers" programs with cooperative action to fill gaps in services appears to be the key.

The question that these six points pose for us is how do we develop this "synthesis of physical and social planning on a metropolitan basis."

1. There is at present, no mechanism for treating the complex and interrelated problems of the entire Los Angeles metropolitan area.
 - 1a. The creation of an urban affairs council could provide the common ground and open the channels of communication between those agencies, organizations, services and individuals that must work as a team if the critical needs of individuals, groups, and communities are to be met.

Such an approach would:

- a. Insure early detection and definition of critical needs.
- b. Discovery and deployment of resources presently available or that must be developed.

2. This Council should concern itself with the wide variety of problems that arise in the various geographical areas of the county and within such substantive areas as: employment, education, housing, welfare, law enforcement, health, recreation, etc. It must also provide help to the ethnic groups in developing a viable identifiable instrument through which they can deal effectively with their internal problems, work out relationships with other ethnic groups, and can speak with one voice to the community at large.

3. This Council should specialize in the early detection, diagnosis, referral and treatment of the critical needs of individuals, groups and communities, it should make use of every available facility for this purpose including teachers, recreation leaders, police, ministers, group guidance, teen posts, neighborhood adult participation groups, even information coming from bars and pool halls would be invaluable in determining the "pulse" of the community.

4. For example, it could make provision for the development of "Reception Centers" in "Port of Entry" communities so as to provide a friendly welcome, orientation and help in adjusting to urban living. This should include preliminary counselling and referral in the procurement of housing, jobs, emergency aid, and in the discovery of health, recreational, religious individual and family counselling services.

5. The participants in the Urban Affairs Council should be drawn from all the organizations that share its objectives. Each organization should be represented by those individuals that, in the organizations' judgment, are most competent to represent the organizations concern and are capable of rallying their full potential for this cooperative effort in meeting needs, solving problems, and in developing individuals and communities.

6. Membership for the Urban Affairs Council and its specialized sections should be drawn from such organizations as: Los Angeles County Chief Administrative Office, Human Relations Commission, Department of Community Services, Probation Department, Regional Planning, Bureau of Public Assistance, Health Department, Parks and Recreation, Sheriff's Department, Juvenile Courts, Mental Health Department, County Schools of Los Angeles, Los Angeles City Planning Commission, City Recreation Commission, City Police Department, City Schools, California Fair Employment Practice Commission, California Youth Authority, California Adult Authority, California State Superintendent of Schools; United States Health, Education and Welfare Office; Labor Unions; Welfare Planning Council Metropolitan Area: Community Relations Conference; Chamber of Commerce; Broadcasters Association; Newspapers; Religion and Race Commission of the Southern California Council of Churches; Catholic Diocese; Jewish Federation Council; Other church bodies not represented above; Universities; Colleges; Banks; Travelers Aid; P.T.A.'s; Service Clubs; National Conference of Christians and Jews; key organizations of the Mexican-American, Negro, and Oriental communities, etc.

Finding a Path to Progress

A few weeks ago American scientists reached a landmark in the conquest of space. Two men were sent circuiting the earth in Gemini V for a period

of eight days. Even greater exploits by men in the inhospitable element of space are but a few years away. Before our children die man may well have explored the outer reaches of our solar system. He may even have explored other solar systems in our galaxy.

Dr. Albert Einstein said of the physical world, "The most incomprehensible thing about the world is that it is comprehensible." In two brief papers published in 1905, Dr. Einstein recast the classical concept of the universe. From that time until his death it was his lifelong desire to fix all of the forces of nature into a unified set of equations. He never completed this work, but held firm his faith that order, not chaos, ruled the cosmos; for, he said, "God doesn't play dice with the universe." Although Dr. Einstein never completed his work he did go far enough to revolutionize man's concept of the universe and the forces within it. By the promulgation of a short equation ($E=mc^2$) he provided the basic theory for the development of atomic energy.

Even though Dr. Einstein's Theory of Relativity was widely accepted before his death, it has not yet been possible to use the theory in any practical application of man's desire to fully explore the mysteries of the universe. There is little doubt though that our recent successes in space are related to a better understanding of the forces in the universe as described by Dr. Einstein.

Our foray into space, even with a theoretical knowledge of the myriad of elements to be dealt with, was delayed until man developed an instrument that could bring "order" to the relationship of those elements, one with the

other. He developed the computer, an instrument that could be fed an almost unlimited amount of information and could then be "programmed" to provide some "orderly" relationship of that data. It was only after the creation of the computer that man began his conquest of space, for it took the computer to bring "order" out of the "chaos" of information that man had gathered about the universe and its possible effect upon any man who dared exist outside his home environment.

If Dr. Einstein was right in saying that God doesn't "play dice with the universe" and he was speaking, we suppose, of the physical universe - might we not also assume that God doesn't play dice with the social universe; that there is some "order" to be fashioned out of our chaotic urban complex? If the computer was the answer to finding and providing for man that information out of which he could define the elements of the "order" of the physical universe, might it not also help us to plot a course that could bring a greater measure of "order" in our social world?

To find an answer to this question is to be on the verge of an answer to the riots of August, and to the problems of our "qualitatively different" human settlement that we are a part of today.

Acting on this assumption, the Commission staff has already inaugurated conversations with the Systems Development Corporation to determine if such a proposal is feasible. We have asked: Do the behavioral scientists know enough about human behavior, social problems, economic and political problems, to submit to computer analysis sufficient information to provide scientific answers to (1) where we have been in our social world; (2) where we are in

our social development; (3) where we are headed and (4) how can we best cope with our social problems. Their qualified answer to these questions has been encouraging. They feel that some guidelines can be developed that will provide answers to those who seek to deal effectively with the social problems that confound and confuse us as we attempt to deal effectively with tensions, conflicts and the numerous other human problems that shape and determine our destiny as a people and as a nation.

These sessions have been held with the behavioral scientists at Systems Development Corporation to explore in depth this issue. Not only has the Commission staff been involved, but staff from the Regional Planning Commission, the Community Redevelopment Agency of the City of Los Angeles and a representative of the Chief Administrative Office have also been involved.

We feel that this avenue should be pursued, and that the Commission should seek foundation funds to mount an experimental program to determine if such a proposal is, in fact, feasible. Some interest has been shown in a similar, though not so extensive, program by some of the nation's most prominent foundations.

The Board of Supervisors is in a unique position to initiate discussions on the advisability of developing such a council. Three steps are envisioned in setting up such a metropolitan mechanism. First - All agencies of County government concerned with planning for and/or administering to the physical development or social welfare of the community should be organized as a nucleus group to "sketch" an organizational pattern. Secondly - All other interested political jurisdictions including Federal agencies and special

taxing districts then be invited to join. At the same time, the many private intergroup relations and social welfare agencies with whom this Commission has had a long warm and effective relationship should be invited to become an integrated part of this process.

There is an immediate and pressing need for agencies of County government to begin developing an interrelationship with each other. It is unfortunate, to say the least that one County department all too often does not know the objectives, programs or problems of other department, each of which may be dealing essentially with the same people or the same community problem.

Recommendations:

1. That the Board of Supervisors immediately consider the creation of a "Council on Urban Affairs" that would include the heads of all appropriate County departments.
2. That the Board of Supervisors strongly urge all such departments to identify, in their respective departments an individual, high in the departments administrative structure, whose primary function would be to perfect constant and intensive liaison with each of the other departments in the Council on a permanent basis.
3. That this "Council on Urban Affairs" report to the Board of Supervisors at a time to be determined by the Board with recommendations as to how the "metropolitan Council" can best be formed.
4. That an agency of County government of the Board's choosing be directed to serve as the temporary convener of such a Council in order to implement these recommendations.
5. We recommend, as a long-term project to deal with the most fundamental social problems out of which the riots occurred, the support of the Board of Supervisors of the Commission's intent to seek funds to develop this program. If successful, it could well provide a model for the nation to follow.

- CONCLUSION -

It is obvious to anyone familiar with the complex problems of urban life and its implications for the development of severe human relations problems that the programs and recommendations presented in the proposals contained herein do not by any means exhaust the subject.

It is equally obvious that many of the programs suggested do not exhaust the subject with which they deal. The Commission has attempted to provide enough background and detail on the programs it presented to support the recommendations it has made. On the other hand, we have tried to keep the description of the programs brief enough to avoid an even more lengthy document than is herewith presented.

Throughout this series of proposals we have sought to convey the impression that there are still many unanswered questions pertaining to the problems we face. Candidly, we also state that there are a great many "unknown" -- so many, in fact, that even the questions that should be asked evade and defy identification.

Dealing with this subject must be viewed as a continuing process of exploration and discovery -- of raising questions and then searching for answers. Your Board has, at the beginning of the present fiscal year, provided the Commission with one of its most pressing needs: a staff person in the field of social research. The research efforts of the Commission will be pragmatic in its approach and oriented toward the evaluation of programs that the Commission is now involved in and

those which it is now seeking support to implement.

Your Commission on Human Relations will persist in seeking solutions to the problems and issues raised in this paper and in presenting to your Board, from time to time, additional suggestions designed to create in this County a human relations atmosphere of which all its citizens can be proud.

Los Angeles County has the resources and the potential to lead the nation in creating a community substantially devoid of the specter of interracial tension and conflict. Your Commission dedicates itself to the pursuit of this objective. We earnestly solicit the cooperation and the support of other departments of County government, other governmental jurisdictions, private organizations and individuals in this endeavor. Most importantly we urge the continued support of your honorable Board. Our community is, in a very real and critical sense, at the crossroad. We can, by default and inaction, fail to meet the needs of our time but we can also succeed in meeting those needs. We pledge, with your Board's support, untiring efforts to successfully meet the challenge that confronts us all.

